[DAVID RAMSAY'S TRIAL.—Page 1239.

THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT
For International Socialism.

Vol. V.—No. 49 SATURDAY, MARCH 1st, 1919 Price Twopence.

The MINERS' DEMANDS & FOREIGN COMPETITION

WHO IS KEEPING THE COAL FROM OUR GRATES?

WHY is it that we cannot buy coal for our household fires? Why must we sit beside a grate that, too often, is either quite empty, or contains but a tiny smouldering handful of dust? During the great war we were told that we must go short because great quantities of coal were being used by the Navy, and because men had been withdrawn from the mines for the Army. But why is it that we have greater difficulty in obtaining coal to-day than at any stage of the war?

It is, we believe, because stocks of coal are being accumulated to meet the expected miners' strike.

When the workers of Belfast and the Clyde were striking, with great heroism, for a shorter working week in order that work might be found for the unemployed. the miners were negotiating, and they are still negotiating, whilst the stocks are being piled up against them. At the conference between Mr. Lloyd George and the miners' delegates at Downing Street on February 20th, Mr. Lloyd George cited the fact that Londoners cannot buy domestic coal, as an evidence that stocks are not being accumulated, but it seems to us that the very extraordinary scarcity now afflicting the community is on the contrary a proof that stocks are being prepared.

Mr. Smillie asserted that certain collieries are stocking their entire output. Mr. Lloyd George tried to explain the matter away. He suggested that this coal might be for the Admiralty. On learning that it was not, he asked whether it was for the blast furnaces. Mr. Smillie assented, and added that steel is also being stocked inside the steel works. No doubt it is also being piled up in works of other kinds. Mr. Lloyd George was undismayed; he had said that stocking was impossible, but now he freely admitted it. Of course the owners of blast furnaces were preparing stocks. "They, of course, do not want to shut down their businesses!"

Yes, the manufacturers are making what preparations they can to vanquish the workers in the coming struggle, whilst the workers are giving their opponents the opportunity to entrench themselves. Yet Robert Smillie actually protested to Mr. Lloyd George that the miners' officials had not deliberately chosen a moment when stocks are likely to be low to press the workers' claim. If the miners' officials have not endeavoured to choose the moment for the conflict most favourable to the workers, they are deserving, not of praise, but of censure. Negotiators may find it pleasant to be able to say to the mine owners: "We have not sought to place you at a disadvantage," But the terrible upward struggle of the workers is not a mere idlers' game in which it matters not who wins. The officials who knowingly fail to seize for the workers every strategic advantage it is possible to secure, must hold themselves, in part at least, responsible for the hardships suffered by the workers during a prolonged strike, and for any victimisation that may result from their defeat.

The Government does not intervene in the interests of the public, though the witholding of coal from the market by mine owners, and the hoarding of stocks by manufacturers in preparation for the imdustrial tug-of-war is causing hardship. But Mr. Lloyd George announces his intention to protect the neglected public as soon as the miners begin to strike.

Why is this?

It is because the Lloyd George Government is a capitalist Government whose members regard the world of industry from the capitalist standpoint.

GOVERNMENT THREAT OF FORCE.

Mr. Lloyd George warns the miners that a strike at the present time would be very serious for them, because they would have to fight, not with the employers, but with the Government, which has not yet surrendered the control it assumed for the period of the war. It is a small point, for the latest Defence of the Realm Act Order, recently issued to terrorise the E.T.U.. is enough to demonstrate to us that the miners would have had the

Continued on page 1240.

THE SOLDIER and THE WAR.

THE SOLDIER AND THE WAR.

The following passages comprise one of six fragments to be published in the "Dreadnought" from a novel by Dudley Howard Tripp, a young soldier who enlisted early in the war and here records his impressions.

I.

.....Throughout the rest of the room the men were lying down, smoking or sleeping, or squatting on their equipment. Here and there were candles flickering in the draught from broken window panes.

Half the land of France seemed in candle light and shadow. Faces started out of the gloom, glowing red and orange in the light of a candle; dark shadows showed round the eyes and ears; now and then a bayonet hilt answered the spasmodic flicker of the lights; in the distance, outside, was the rumble of guns and wagons.

I shivered and looked at Flynn. He was smiling sardonically. "Yes," he said, as though in answer to my thought, "they're sick!"

I began to think, rambling fashion:

Yet it must go on....I suppose it must go on. Why not! Those who have most interest in seeing it end, those who suffer, are powerless to work for it.....

The whole game seems eternal so far as the individual is concerned, so barren of all conclusion. Battles come and battles go. Vimy is finished and the reaction is setting in. All that hell, all that sweeping and seething of men into eternity like grain stalks, pell mell; all that triumph and disaster, pity and madness inextricably mixed; all that tumbling of hopes, shattering of dreams, that inconsequential medly of dripping glory, meaning so little, so much, meaning, after all—what? It is gone. It ground something, in some blinding flash of passion, into our souls. Through its vague, chaotic intensity a sort of goal, a dawn-light stole for a moment, something at least that we *though* the dawn. Then, when our vision cleared, when our temples ceased throbbing, we saw that it only heralded the beginning anew of the old round—the old eternal, damnable, ghastly round.

The battle of Vimy was, to the dead, anyway, a climax. It was the point of finality. The men who died there died on the summit of the hill: *we* had lived to descend into the valley. There is little light in the valley . . . little but an oppressing vista of darkness pricked by shell flashes and terror sparks . . .

Men do not live for ever in the trenches . . . Death is sometimes not the end . . .

If not to-morrow, then after to-morrow, or in a year's time.

* * *

Glory? What is glory when you've spent the night, the long bitter winter night on the rain-swept firestep, are cold to the bone; when rats are scuttling about and the lice make great itching over your body? or patriotism, when its temples are fashioned, not of beautiful things, but of brown Army blankets? And for a too pertinent question of its justice one stands to be .. . . . no! . . .

Noël, Pat, Bill, James, Wilkie, Fenton—others. A bridge of young, splendid bodies over which the grey-haired talkers pass to victory with a fanfare of trumpets, with a jingling and juggling of words. My pals for their words, their after dinner speeches. Would to God there were a God in Heaven! and so justice upon earth . . .

* * *

Donaghue's voice came slowly through the darkness:

I've tried to break my ankle a dozen times to-day. I can't. I'd do anything rather than go up the line to-night.

So would I....almost. People at home would call us cowards, perhaps I am a coward. One begins to wonder after a year in this mud, and blood, and stench. Oh! Hang it! What does a man want of honour! I don't want the pride of being among the first, I want the luck of being last. Life is more to me than this butcher's glory: That is a truth that comes home to me with increasing bitterness. One finds these things out in sickness, and sorrow, and despair. Life matters—decent life; only that. Medals and decorations, and after-dinner speeches, can go to the Devil, so long as I have life and health, and my small share of the things that make life pleasant. You know, chaps, that's all you want, too. But THIS never ends. We must go on from day to day and we *dare* not stop. The poor devils opposite us dare not stop either. It must be gone through: that is as far as I can see. Somewhere there is something foolish, but I cannot find where. I tell you it is not right....war is all wrong. It isn't right, it isn't *square* that boys should be maimed and murdered....Oh! God! God! God! I'm so miserable....

I could see them just beyond the candle, their eyes burning strangely in their somewhat pinched faces, their hair ruffled and untidy, crouching with their knees huddled up to their chests. They just stared and stared at the little flickering point of light....

The happiness with which, in the early months of the war I had embarked for France, came back to me as I lay watching there. It seemed something alien to me, something entirely foreign to reality. The radiance of it all had faded, the joy of it was rusted over. I no longer understood its innocent extravagance.

Now! What mattered anything but life, the possibility of coming through? What had I to do with Charity or Patriotism, with love or forebearance? Every man for himself! Was not hatred a form of self? Love and hatred the creed of War? Sacrifice of self was immoral. Let others sink in the mire and filth—let them save themselves. My country, my only country, was my soul, my body, and blood, and brains; my own happiness and desire of happiness, my life, my little span of life and health....

DUDLEY HOWARD-TRIPP.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

There is a great demand for butchers in Russia. The slaughter trade is in a flourishing condition, and prime shoulder of bourgeoise is cheap to-day, ma'am. No coupons required.

This is at least the kind of thing that sprawls itself over the pages of the Bellow Press. I do not know if they are out for blood and plenty of it, but if that is the stuff to give them THE DREADNOUGHT should not be behindhand. Let us take, for instance, the Paris Commune of 1870 which the bourgeoise met with the usual "firm hand." Our extracts are taken from those collected by *The Socialist* and published in their issue for March 16th, 1917. *The Paris Soir* at the time of the repression of the Commune said:—

"In the Madeleine Church our soldiers did not rest till they had killed with the bayonet every one of the many insurgents who had taken refuge there."

This was cheering news to the readers of *The Soir*. For a wonder it did not say "our *brave and gallant* soldiers...." But—gallant or not—they did their work well. Thus *The Daily News* (May-June, 1871):—

"*Eleven wagon loads* of dead bodies have been buried in the common ditch of Issy. No quarter was given to any man, *woman or child*. Batches of fifty and one hundred at a time were shot."

On with the dance! The Paris *Petite Presse* of about the same date remarked on "a long and persistent streak of blood in the river passing under the second arch of the Tuilieries bridge, and running swiftly far out of sight." The Paris *Francais* thuswise:—

"It is at the Stock Exchange that there was to-day the largest number of executions. The doomed men who attempted to resist were bound to the iron railing."

A fit place to die. At the Stock Exchange where the people's food is gambled with and the loaded dice settles the price of bread. The London *Evening Standard* (June 8th, 1871) speaks of the bodies being piled into the ditches, and dead and half dead in one red burial blent. "That many wounded have been buried alive, I have not the slightest doubt." And, one morning, "a clenched hand was seen protruding through the soil."

But read on, *The Standard* of the same date:—

"The wholesale executions continue indiscriminately. Prisoners are taken down in batches to certain places where firing parties are stationed and deep trenches dug beforehand. At one of these, the Caserne Napoleon, since last night five hundred persons have been shot. There are *invariably women and boys among them*."

Then read *The Evening Standard* of these latter days on the Bloodthirsty Bolshevik, against whose tyranny the gallant Labour Leader, Colonel John Ward, is defending the glorious liberties and other blessings of civilization such as Wandsworth Prison, where so many C.O.s now lie for refusing to do any murder. But back to our Communists. A few paragraphs more and we shall have them all wiped out and nicely disposed of. Continue with *The Standard* of June, 1871:—

"Prisoners are soon disposed of by a volley, and tumbled into a trench when, *if not killed by the shots death from suffocation* must soon put an end to their pain. .....Two thousand dead bodies are collected around the Panthéon."

The Times of the same period remarks on "the shambles (which) have been established at the end of the Boulevard Malesherbes." "At Satoray, on Wednesday, a thousand of the captured insurgents were shot." This in France, the mother of civilization!

Turn we now to Russia under the happy rule of the Great White Tsar, who is reported to be still alive in the Urals, in spite of his being tied in an arm chair and bayoneted to death a few months previously. In his book 'The Terror in Russia,' Peter Kropotkin gives details of the peaceful persuasion of the Okhrana and the Black Hundreds, and the Tsarist Government generally. Kropotkin himself, you will remember, was murdered by the daily press, and a few weeks later rose again, none the worse for Hyndman's funeral oration. Says Kropotkin regarding the executions in 1908: "I contested the figures in *The Times* of August 14, 1918, and maintained that the number of executions during the first six months of 1908 had been from *4 to 15 every day* —there being, however, no executions on Sundays and other holidays." In the period 1905-8 the official list gives the number of executions (civilians only) as 2,118, and in the first three months of 1909 there were 235 executions. The administration of the prisons gave the number in the lock-ups of the Empire on February 1, 1909 as 181,137 inmates. In addition the numbers "in transportation" were estimated officially at about 30,000—a grand total of some 211,000 imprisoned under Nicholas.

I have not room here to mention the floggings and other "decisive measures" taken by punitive expeditions to recover famine debts and other taxes from the peasants. When the gentlemen from Scotland Yard paid a visit to my rooms they took away a great deal of material I have never seen since.

And it was not in Russia alone that destruction of villages has been the penalty for ignoring authority. In the South African war one well remembers the order of Lord Roberts to the effect that all farms in proclaimed areas where arms were found were to be set on fire. In the concentration camps the death rate was tremendous. Out of a population of 110,000 in the camps, 18,120 persons died in the eight months from June 1901 to January 1902. *Of these 12,929 were children*—see Blue Book (which understated the truth).

It will be said naturally that all these things happened so long ago. "Live, live in the living present, let the dead past bury its dead." The Bolshevik is rampant now, like the Salvation Army, with blood and fire. Let us examine the behaviour of the model allied army on the Rhineland. I will merely quote a letter from *The Herald* of February 22nd, 1919:—

"All requests from our doctors and authorities recoil against the hard heartedness of the military wall which has been erected on the left bank of the Rhine. I still cannot believe that the entente people themselves are destitute of feeling, but I know of no other way except your mediation to reach the people on the other side. Although the Belgians know we have no other adequate source, *they do not allow a drop of milk* to cross the Rhine bridge, so that *frequently children under a year old have no milk for days;* children over two years old are no longer entitled to milk at all. I need not say that unparalleled misery arises from this, and the children are succumbing to the most trivial maladies. *They often stand by the barrier on the Rhine bridge in hundreds, because the rumour was circulated that they might go across and drink on the other side, until the sentries drove them away.* All this is so terrible that I am sure you would find in France, Belgium, or England persons to whom this misery and wrong is also intolerable.—Yours very sincerely, ILSE SCHEFFER (a nurse).
71 Duisbergerstrasse, Düsseldorf, 1-2-19.

And yet, Henry, there are people who would sooner believe in Bolshevist atrocity fables than in the facts set out above. Patriotism is a kind of paralysis of the brain. It is the bed-fellow of militarism.

Le militarisme est mort! Vive le militarisme!

Parliament as We See It.

PAYING THE GAOLER.

February 17th.—Captain Guest (Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury) informed the House that the German Government is supplying cash for the current needs of occupying troops. This recalls how Ireland had to pay the money used in bringing about the Union in 1801.

OLD FRIENDS.

On the subject of liberating the C. O.s, Mr. Bonar Law repeated the time-worn phrase: "The subject is receiving consideration." Mr. Billing (Ind.) too has not learned wisdom, he thinks the C. O.s should form the Army of Occupation.

THE REWARD OF HEROES.

Those soldiers and sailors who have been fighting for "their Country," and in so doing have lost one arm, should, says Colonel Burn (CU), be given *preference* "as messengers in Government offices"!

THE IGNORANCE OF THE LOWER ORDERS.

Sir C. Kinloch-Cook (CU) thinks that if the workers were taught "the elementary principles of political economy" all would be well." Of course! But we fear Sir C. Kinloch-Cook means teach 'em that the essence of that science is to ensure dividends to the shareholders.

RUSSIA THE ENEMY.

Although no formal declaration of war has been made, it is clear from Captain Guest's reply to Mr. Neil McLean (Lab) that the Bolsheviki now take the place of the Huns. He said that it is not possible to give replies to questions asking the number of British troops now in Russia "without conveying useful information to the Bolsheviki."

ANOTHER UNDEMOCRATIC MOVE.

The question of whether electors should decide the suitability of Ministers to fulfil certain Government appointments has been decided by the passing of the Re election of Ministers Bill. The amended Bill passed demands that after a General Election a newly appointed Minister need not appeal to the country if appointed before nine months have elapsed. An ominous decision surely in view of the changes that may occur in that period.

HOUSING.

Since Sir A. Yeo (CL) has been able to show that eviction is not confined to the poorer classes—for he cited the case of the tenant of a £160 residence being about to be bought out—we may expect drastic action to be taken. Dr. Addison (President of the Local Government Board) even went so far as to say that taking advantage of the existing house shortage "is profiteering there is no doubt about it"!!!

IRISH PEOPLE VICTIMISED.

As a result of agitation Irishmen, Mr. Devlin (Nat.) said, are to be deprived of out-of-work pay. During his speech on this new proof of British want of fairness towards Ireland, he stated that the revenue of Ireland this year was £15,000,000 *over Irish expenditure*. The great argument of Unionists is that Ireland could not stand alone; it seems now that by so doing she would gain *at least* £15,000,000.

THE PRICE OF PEACE.

February 18th.—Colonel Sir S. Hoare (CU) remarked that the Peace Conference is costing £20,000 a day more than the South African War.

THOSE ALIENS.

Mr. Shortt (Home Secretary) having had experience in Ireland, now prepares to introduce an Aliens Bill. He responds to all the worst spirits in the House who demand the persecution of aliens. He assured these patriots that he now possesses power to exclude aliens and wishes *to retain that power in peace time.*

CARSON, BEWARE!

The 'Handbook for Rebels' and the "Grammar of Anarchy" have been seized by the police in all parts of Ireland. Mr. Samuels termed them "seditious," yet Sir Edward Carson's and Sir F. E. Smith's speeches form the greater part of the 'Handbook for Rebels.' How came it that they were not imprisoned for *making* these seditious speeches?

THE OLD ORDER.

Three days, February 18th, 19th, and 20th, were spent in debating as to whether the Committee system be adopted. Mr. Bonar Law thinks it would lessen the work of the House. It does not seem to him that by so doing he is also lessening the already dwindling interest of the public in the House. Our advice is, that since there is never any satisfaction obtainable from patching up old houses, the businesslike thing to do is to demolish them. Parliament has not even one leg to stand on, the last shadow of democratic control is in the act of vanishing. Why not try the Soviet system?

JUSTICE (?)

February 19th.—Certain men who had the courage to show their resentment at the muddles of the military authorities, are to be court martialled, but Colonel Wedgwood (C. L.) wanted to know what punishment the muddlers at Victoria Station were to have. That point Captain Guest was unable to make clear, requiring notice of the question.

RETURN OF SLAVERY.

In the British House of Commons Members are found who make suggestions in questions which can only be termed abominable. Mr. J. Terrell (C. U.) and Mr. Grant (C. U.) are much upset that unemployed women refuse domestic service! Why *should* they be forced to undertake a job for which they have no inclination? The Home Secretary replied that the unemployed donation may be withheld from women who refuse offers of domestic employment.

RUSSIA.

February 20th.—The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Harmsworth, calmly told the House that the Dowager Empress of Russia was in the Crimea *and did not wish to leave at present*, and five minutes later he alluded to the alleged ill-treatment of women by the Bolsheviki. To his credit, he did admit that the notorious Proclamation nationalising women was *possibly* not a Bolshevik decree. But why does he not ascertain the truth and take action against such libels being spread? Especially, as he remarked, that he was not sure that the Decree was "suitable for general publication." What about *The Times* printing it? Is there not a means of prosecuting or seizing literature considered to be indecent?—M. O'C.

WORKSHOP NOTES. By W. F. Watson.

DAVE RAMSAY.

Accompanied by Mrs. Ramsay I attended Bow Street on Monday morning, February 17th, and applied for bail for our comrade but without success. We then went to Scotland Yard to see if Inspector Parker could help us, but he informed us that he was powerlesss, so we packed off to Brixton and after some trouble were able to see him. I say see him advisedly. We certainly could not see much of him, through the very fine mesh wire netting that separates the prisoner from the visitor. But I saw that David was far from well. He was only just recovering from a severe attack of the 'Flu and was in hospital. However, the sight of his wife bucked him up, and we told him he must keep well for Saturday. When I again saw him on Wednesday there was a decided improvement, and by Saturday David was as a fit as a fiddle.

Finding that he did not intend to have a solicitor I asked Comrade Ramsay if he would place the case in my hands, and he consented. I immediately got into touch with the Croydon Comrades who were only too willing to appear as witnesses. I very carefully prepared the case, but try as we would I was unable to convey the papers to David. You see it is only the legal gentlemen who are permitted to do this sort of thing, and thus do the authorities place all manner of obstacles in the way of one who feels quite capable of taking care of himself. But we beat them.

Dave duly appeared before Sir John Dickenson and some forty comrades were in the court. Sir A. Bodkin was prosecuting Counsel and briefly stated his case, after which Parker gave evidence of arrest. Comrade Ramsay here asked the magistrate if he could have some papers from his wife, which would greatly assist him in his defence. "Certainly! certainly!!" said Sir John. And they were handed to him. The shorthand writer was then put in the witness box, and Archibald read the transcript whilst the detective followed with his notes. In cross examination Ramsay asked for the transcript which was handed to him. Then, after closely examining the reporter's note-book, commenting upon the fact that it was quite a new book and that there was no proof that the notes were actually taken at the meeting, our comrade requested the witness to read from his shorthand notes whilst he checked it from the transcript. This created something of a sensation in court but, as it was a perfectly legitimate request, the witness was compelled to read his notes.

Upon my advice, Ramsay put the detective who searched his lodgings, in the witness box, and asked him what he found at his lodgings, what he expected to find, why he asked the landlady if she had known Ramsay by any other name, and why he appeared disappointed at the end of his search. All questions were more or less satisfactorily answered. The case for the prosecution having finished Ramsay asked for a remand and bail to enable him to prepare his defence. Archibald opposed the application and Sir John raised objections and there ensued a very interesting discussion between Dave and Sir John. Eventually, Sir John became impatient and suggested that Ramsay should put some of his witnesses in the box and see how far the case could be got. Ramsay asked me if he should go on, to which I replied, "Yes," and Tom Redman, Len Tomkins and myself duly gave evidence. It was then close upon 1 o'clock and another case was due at 2.30, consequently Sir John was compelled to adjourn the case until today, at 2.30. Upon Dave promising not to indulge in any propaganda until then, Sir John intimated his willingness to accept two sureties of £50 each, whereupon all our comrades in the court spontaneously signified their willingness to go bail, Mrs. Thring and myself being finally accepted. At 2.30 David was allowed to depart and the devoted band of comrades waiting in the street gave him a royal welcome when he came out.

To my mind we scored a victory. Our Comrade Ramsay was splendid and the witnesses were great. I make no apology for introducing the personal element. It only shews what can be done if we make up our minds to do it. For my part I have done with the legal people, and if ever I get scooped up again I intend to conduct my own case and, should I go down, I shall go down fighting.

Comrades, Dave is to appear at Bow Street to-day, Saturday It is your DUTY to be there to support him.

WHAT MEANS THIS STRIKE?

Crossley Motors and Aero Committee.

On Tuesday, February 11th, 1919, the workers at Crossley Motors, Ltd, struck work, and affirmed their position in the following resolution: "That we, the workers employed at Crossley Motors, Ltd, hereby declare the cessation of work, and resolve to remain out until the reinstatement of Bro. Bond."

Like many other strikes the incidental detail responsible for the trouble was small, but the principle involved is big. The "detail" was the faulty heating of a workshop. The principle involved is the right of the workers to have shop stewards, and to sustain workshop organisation.

Herewith the history: On Monday, February 10, the workers employed in the Motor Fitting and Assembling Department complained to Bro. Bond, who is the Chairman of the Dayshift Shops Committee, and also an official shop steward of the Tool-Makers' Society, about the cold state of the shop. In keeping with the duties of a shop steward and the Chairman of the Committee, Bro. Bond forthwith laid the complaint before the foreman of the department, Mr. Stafford, and requested a rectification of the heating arrangements. Shortly after returning to his bench, Bro. Bond's attention was called to a spontaneous gathering of the workers at one end of the shop.

Before being able to attend to this disturbance, Bro. Bond was called to the office by Mr. Stafford, who had noticed the gathering of the workers. Mr. Stafford immediately informed Bro. Bond that the first man who got up to address the meeting would be charged with insubordination, on the grounds that no permission had been given for the meeting. Bro. Bond pointed out the spontaneous nature of the gathering, and forthwith requested permission for the meeting to be held. This request was refused by Mr. Stafford, who reiterated his intentions respecting any one who addressed the meeting. Bro. Bond pointed out the ridiculous position, and said that as Chairman of the Shop Committee he would have to take the responsibility of dealing with the meeting.

Bro. Bond informed the meeting of the position of affairs, and the workers resumed work. Shortly after the resumption Bro. Bond was summoned to the Manager's Office, and there charged with insubordination by Mr. Stafford. The result of the Management's deliberation was that a few hours later Bro. Bond was given an immediate pay-up note, same being accepted under protest.

Mass meetings were held on Tuesday, the second one being to allow the Managing Director, Mr. Letts, to address the workers. Notwithstanding Mr. Letts' appeal for constitutional action, which, to say the least for it, was somewhat naive, the workers unanimously expressed their opinion in the resolution above mentioned.

So much for the history of the dispute. We feel confident in expressing the view that very few workers can be found who will condemn the action taken by the workers at Crossley Motors, Ltd.

What is the Explanation?

To our minds there are but two possible explanations for the dismissal of Bro. Bond. One is that it is a tactical blunder due to the hastiness of the departmental foreman, Mr. Stafford; the other is, that it is a deliberate attempt of the employers to smash the independent workshop organisation of the workers. If the first explanation is correct, the departmental foreman is to blame, and the fact should be acknowledged. If the second explanation is the most feasible, then we unhesitatingly affirm that it is the duty of every worker who has any regard for the future welfare of the working class to see to it that this attempt of the employers is not allowed to succeed.

Now, Workers! What are *You* doing about it?

If any of the men here took upon themselves to hold a meeting without my permission during time they had contracted to work for the firm, I should consider I had the right to terminate their engagement at once for breach of contract.

J. EDWARD FRANCIS
[The Athenæum Press.]

[The Printer's footnote shows, in our opinion, the hardening effect of the capitalist system.—EDITOR.]

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

TYRANNICIDE.

Woodrow Wilson represents a trend of thought and action far more hostile to progress, as we conceive it, than does Georges Clemenceau. But to persons of the Wilson school, Clemenceau has for some time past seemed the arch-enemy of progress. It is probable that the successful "removal" of Clemenceau would have had no more effect on the course of history than had the successful removal of Stuerghk by Fritz Adler in Austria, three years ago. Stuerghk, Clemenceau, Wilson, and similar individuals in this country are but the representatives of a system, and it is the *system* against which we bolshevists make war.

In private life Clemenceau is a harmless old fellow of sane and simple habits. As premier, he is the figure-head of the bourgeois republic, not its motive force, and to lop off the figure-head does not affect the movement of the vessel. The advocates of political assassination attach undue importance to individual figures. It is the old mistake, the cult of leadership, though here in inverted form. And merely as a matter of self-protection we have to remember that political assassination is a method of warfare which eminently lends itself to reprisal. Lenin is not bolshevist Russia, but his individuality is probably more important to bolshevist Russia than Clemenceau's to capitalist France. Last summer an attempt, happily unsuccessful, was made to remove Lenin, and on that occasion it was ultra-reactionaries who were saying all over the world, "What a pity the beggar couldn't shoot straight!" As we write comes the news from Bavaria, pointing the moral, that the reactionaries are better shots, and have more guns! And there is no "red" monopoly in fanaticism.

Just as the "reign of terror" is but a reaction against the oppressions practised by the capitalist state, so political assassination invariably tends to become prevalent during times when the tyranny of a class living by ownership is peculiarly galling. Then does it seem, as Swinburne wrote many years ago that "night hath but one red star, tyrannicide." Those who wish to understand the mentality of monarchomachists, tyrannicides, and other political assassins (it is almost as easy to understand that mentality in modern France and England as it was in the Russia of the tsars), should read the excellent translation of Ropshin's novel 'The Pale Horse,' which presents the intimate history of a small group of Russian revolutionists engaged in the removal of a provincial governor.

We do not believe that there is any danger of the left-wing movement in this country, or even the U.S., inclining towards the doctrines and methods of terrorism, in the sense of political assassination. The Wheeldon case, was in our opinion a "fake" through and through; and there can be little doubt that the famous "Spanish anarchist" plot against Wilson has been rigged to arouse popular fury against the I.W.W. The methods of waging the class war that are being adopted by the reactionaries, the persistent mendacity of the capitalist press, the unceasing incitements to repressive measures, voiced by such journals as *The Morning Post* necessarily arouse an inclination towards terrorist tactics, and it behoves us to keep a tight grip on our philosophy. On the other hand, we have to recognise that while we regard the dictatorship of the proletariat as an indispensible phase in the abolition of class rule, we shall have to guard against the risk characteristic of every dictatorship, against the tendency dictatorship has to attempt self-perpetuation. We do not desire a new form of "despotism tempered by assassination." But our Marxist philosophy convinces us that this danger is more apparent than real. Class rule will no longer exist when class has itself ceased to exist. The difficult period is the period of transition, and we see no way of avoiding these temporary dictatorships as long as great bolshevist communities and great capitalist states confront one another within the confines of one narrow planet. The Russian revolution of 1917 must become the world revolution. Not until then will there be peace on earth.

EDEN AND CEDAR PAUL.

WILSON'S RETURN.

When President Wilson reached Boston twenty suffragettes were arrested for displaying votes for women banners and, according to *The Times* "the police had stationed sharp-shooters on the roofs to pick off any possible assailants." A curious greeting for a popular peace-maker!

NOT AN HONOUR TO INDIA.

Indians in London broke up a meeting at which a resolution was moved stating that Lord Sinha's elevation to the peerage and appointment as Under-Secretary were proof of the intention to raise India to a status of equal importance with other portions of the Empire.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

EDITOR: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation

Telephone: EAST 1787.

Annual Subscription - Post Free, 10s. 10d.

Back Numbers, 4½d, post free.

MSS. should be addressed to the Editor at 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3

All business communications to the MANAGER, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Vol. V., No. 49. Sat., March 1st, 1919.

THE MINERS' DEMANDS AND FOREIGN COMPETITION.

(Continued from front page)

Government ranged with the employers against them in any case. Mr. Lloyd George has definitely told the miners that, should a conflict take place, the Government will resign sooner than give in. He adds that the Government will not count on stocks if a strike arise. Evidently he means that force and coercion will be used to break the strike. We notice that the Guards have just returned home, we hope not with a view to their taking part in the struggle. Will the workers continue submitting to coercion without an attempt at retaliation? The prospect is indeed serious. Does a sufficient number of the workers yet understand that the real issue at stake is the control of the mines and the mining industry? Do the workers realise that such control involves control of the national Government itself, for unless the workers are strong enough to control the Government, the capitalists who are behind the Government will never allow the workers to maintain control of the mines?

The present demands are:—

1. A 30 per cent. wages increase.
2. A six-hour working day.
3. Full maintenance at trade union rates of mine workers unemployed through demobilisation.
4. Nationalisation of the mines, with joint control by the State and the mine workers.

The value of these demands is in inverse ratio to their order. The last is by far the most important.

The demand for the 30 per cent. increase is intended, not merely to compensate the miner for the increased cost of living, but to raise his standard above the pre-war level. The Government replied that it would only consent to have the wage brought up to the pre-war value, and actually offered an increase which the miners say would not even do that. Lloyd George offered to adjust the Government offer to whatever might be proved to meet the increase in the cost of living, but further than that he would not pledge himself. In spite of all the fine promises of Reconstruction that he and his colleagues have made, they expect the workers to remain content with life as it was before the war.

The six-hour day demanded is really a seven-hour day, because the miner's hours are counted from the time he reaches and leaves the face from which he is hewing coal, and it takes him, on the average, at least half an hour to descend or ascend in the cage, and to walk, often crouching and stooping by low-roofed passages, to his working place. Mr. Lloyd George declared that the Government could not concede the seven-hour working day because, he said, it would be unfair to other industries. Yet, as Mr. Smillie pointed out, when the Miners' Eight Hours Bill was before Parliament, the House of Commons decided that the working hours should be counted from the time when the collier reached the pit bank. It was an Amendment by the House of Lords which altered this, and so made the eight-hour day in reality a nine-hour day. As, even in those far off days before the war, before the "new spirit," of which we hear so much, had awakened, the Commons were prepared to pass an eight-hour day, it is strange that the Government should shrink from assenting to a seven-hour day now! As for the demand for full pay for men unemployed through demobilisation, Mr. Lloyd George definitely refused to consider it, setting it aside on the plea that in this matter "the miners must really be on the same footing as the workers in all the other industries in the country."

In view of the majority of more than five to one in the miners' strike ballot the Government has tempered its refusal to accede to the strikers demands. A Statutory Commission is being set up which is to report on March 31st concerning the wages and hours demands, and later in regard to Nationalisation. The miners are to strike on March 15th if, as seems inevitable, their ballot so decides, and now every effort is being used to induce them to defer action until after the Commission has reported. The Government and the employers are, we believe, only playing for time in which to prepare their forces and mature their plans.

Mr. Smillie at the Downing Street Conference said that the miners would not press their claim to shorter hours and higher wages if it could be proved to be unjustified. Whatever he may have meant by that, the implication was that the claim would not be pressed if it could be proved that it would increase the selling price of coal. The statement was highly unfortunate, for the claim to higher wages and shorter hours must be based on the miner's right to live under decent conditions, and a readjustment of the entire social structure is not too much to demand in order to secure that.

The figures laid before the Statutory Commission will almost certainly prove to the satisfaction of the Government that neither the increased wage nor the shorter hours can be established without increasing the selling price of coal. The Government will not be hard to convince since it desires to possess that conviction. Mr. Lloyd George plainly showed his preference when he said that the reduction of an eight hour day by two hours would mean a reduction of one-third. It is commonly said that any one can prove anything by statistics, and there is a good deal to be said for the statement, even when figures are less recklessly used than in this case. In this connection the valuable by-products to be obtained from coal must not be overlooked. No estimate of the profits which are, or might, be made by mine owners can be considered adequate which does not allow for them.

NATIONALISATION.

A statement has been circulated on behalf of the employers to the effect that inventive enterprise would be checked by national control, but, as a fact, exactly the opposite is the case. The nation's resources are practically unlimited. It is notorious that under private control the mines have been most wastefully developed.

It is suggested that if the mines are nationalised the industry must be burdened by heavy charges for compensating the owners. There we are brought face to face with the difference be- the Socialist and the Reformer. Nationalisation might mean the mere taking of control by the National Executive, whilst the mine owners and ground landlords would continue to draw their incomes from the industry, either indefinitely or for a long term of years. Nationalisation might mean no more freedom for the miner than he has had hitherto, or rather less, for it is evident that the Government is making a determined effort to prevent strikes. In fact, the Government has taken warning by the happenings of Russia, Germany, Austria, Roumania, and Bulgaria. It realises the approach of Socialism, and is preparing to prevent its establishment by coercion and conciliation, by tanks and machine guns, by offers of profit-sharing and a minor share of control for the workers. It will surrender as many points as it thinks expedient to prevent the overthrow of capitalism, and it is playing for time; it is endeavouring to stave off any great conflict with the workers until a new factor, which is approaching as surely and inexorably as is Socialism, comes to the aid of Capitalism in the coming struggle.

THE MENACE TO WORKERS' CONTROL: CHEAP INDIAN LABOUR.

What is that new factor? It is the menace of ill-paid unorganised labour, which is looming ahead of the British miner; ahead indeed, of every section of British workers.

Already the menace is here; already the cry is being raised that if the miners press their demands, cheaper foreign coal will displace British coal in the world market and throw British miners out of employment. Again and again in his speeches both to the Downing Street deputation and in the House of Commons debate, Mr. Lloyd George raised the same bogey, not merely in regard to coal, but all the industries of the country dependent on coal. Mr. Lloyd George has said that the miners' demands would raise the price of coal by 8*s.* or 10*s.* a ton; he is always sweeping in his statements. An article in *The Weekly Despatch* of February 16th says that the demands would increase the price by 5*s.*, and that "already one of our competitors is able to offer coal to Mediterranean purchasers at 10*s.* a ton cheaper than British coal."

All this seems ludicrous in view of the present coal shortage. The housewife who cannot get coal for the cooking stove, the living room, or the sick room, may well laugh at the prospect of foreign competition, she may well ask when she will gain relief from the present scarcity from any place and at almost any price.

Here are tables from the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts showing the World's coal resources and output:—

World's Coal Resources.

	Millions of Tons.	Per Cent.
North America	5,073,426	68.50
Asia	1,279,586	17.32
Europe	784,190	10.62
Australia and Oceania ...	170,410	2.35
Africa	57,839	0.79
South America	32,102	0.43
TOTAL	7,397,553	100.00

Coal Resources of Asia.

China	995,587	77.77
Siberia	173,879	13.60
India	79,001	6.17
Indo-China	20,002	1.59
Japan, Persia	7.970	0.62
Manchuria	1,858	0.15
Korea	1,208	0.10
	81	—
TOTAL	1,279,586	100.00

World's Coal Output in 1913.

United States	504.52	38.20
United Kingdom	287.41	21.76
Germany...	273 65	20.72
Austria Hungary	51.58	3 91
France	40.19	3.06
Russia	29.87	2.26
Belgium	22.50	1.63
Japan	20.97	1.60
India	16.21	1.23
South Africa	8 48	0 65
Other	65 62	4.98
TOTAL	1,321.00	100.00

According to this table America owns the greater part of the World's coal supply, but it is known that in Britain's Eastern Dependencies there are vast stores of hitherto unestimated coal.

During the war Spitzbergen, which is tremendously rich in coal, has become part of the British Empire, and the coal which can be imported from there will be cheap and cheaply worked.

Indian coal presents an ever growing danger British miners.

The tariff reformers who have promised that their nostrum would assure high wages to British workers, are just now the very people who tell us we cannot have high wages because the products of our industry must be sold abroad. And they who urged us to put every ounce of effort into the war against Germany because Germany was the chief menace to British workers, now that Germany lies vanquished, are more insistent than ever in telling us we must not improve our conditions of life, lest we should make it difficult for our merchants to compete with the Allies. Oh, Capitalism, your perils are indeed hydra-headed, and most convenient for the Capitalists!

The cry of "foreign competition," coming from capitalist sources, is cynical indeed, in face of a world shortage, especially as the only serious competition with British coal comes, is either from Allied or German, Austrian or Russian coalfields. The German and Austrian coal owners are at present under Allied control, and the Allies are in the position to make stipulations which would remove any competitive menace to the miners'

(Continued on page 1243.)

THE CAUSE OF FAMINE. By Lenin.

Letter to the Workers of Petrograd published in the Soviet organ *The Isvestia*, May 24th, 1918.

COMRADES,—The other day I was visited by a delegate from you; a comrade belonging to our party, a workman from the Putiloff Works, who gave me a very detailed and painful description of the famine in Petersburg. We know that the conditions he described prevail in many industrial districts, where hunger is knocking at the doors of the workers and all who are poor.

At the same time we see an orgy of gambling in bread and other foodstuffs. The famine in Russia is not due to scarcity, it is caused by the attempt of the bourgeoisie and the rich to strike a last decisive blow at the power of the workers, the Soviet Power, by attacking it in the most vital point, the supply of bread.

The bourgeoisie, the rich, the wealthy peasants, the village profiteers, are undermining the State monopoly of bread, which is organised in the interests of the whole population, and firstly in the interests of the workers and the poor. The bourgeoisie refuses to abide by the fixed prices and gambles in cereals, making a profit of 100, 200, or more, roubles per pood.* It attacks the regular distribution of cereals with bribery and corruption and maliciously supports and encourages everything which detracts from the power of the workers who are endeavouring to establish the maxim which is the foundation of Socialism: "Who does not work shall not eat."

This maxim is understood by every worker. From the very poorest labourer to the well-to-do peasants, all who have experienced want and know what it is to work for a living are in agreement with it. Nine-tenths of the people of Russia are at one with this simple and obvious principle, which is the basis of Socialism, the inexhaustible source of its strength and the indestructible guarantee of its final victory. But to agree with this principle, to do lip service to it is one thing; to apply it is quite another. There is, indeed, food for thought for every class-conscious worker and peasant, when hundreds of thousands, nay millions of people are starving in Petersburg, Moscow and the other non-agricultural districts of a country where millions of poods of cereals are hoarded by peasants and speculators—and this in a country which calls itself a Socialist Soviet Republic.

"Who does not work shall not eat." How can this maxim be put into practice? It is clear as daylight that in order to accomplish it, one must establish:—

Firstly, a Government monopoly of bread, entailing unconditional prohibition of private trading in cereals; compulsory delivery of all surplus cereals to the State at fixed prices; and unconditional prohibition of hoarding and concealment of surplus cereals by any person whatsoever.

Secondly, a strict accounting of all surplus stocks; a regular transport system between districts where there is plenty and those where a shortage exists; the storage of cereals both for consumption and for sowing.

Thirdly, it is essential to maintain under the control of the workers' Government a systematic and just distribution of bread to all the citizens of the State, without favouritism towards the well-to-do.

These conditions of a successful struggle with famine are so obvious, that one can only wonder at the thickheadedness of those contemptible exponents of anarchy, who deny the necessity of a State power, which shall be unsparingly firm towards the bourgeoisie, and towards all wreckers of government, during this transition period from capitalism to communism and for the deliverance of the workers from slavery and exploitation.

It is precisely at this juncture, when, to its infinite credit, our Revolution is on the point of achieving in a concrete and practical form the creative work of Socialism, especially in this present most important question of famine, that the necessity for a strong, revolutionary Government, a dictatorship of the proletariat, becomes clearer than ever. It is indispensable for organising the collection, transport, and distribution of produce on a broad national scale; for compiling estimates of the needs of millions of people; and the conditions and field of production for many years ahead, with due regard to the possibility of bad harvests and so on; all this requiring many years of arduous work.

The legacy to the working class of Romanoff and Kerensky is a country made bankrupt by their rapacious and criminal, and devastating war; a country thoroughly despoiled by both Russian and foreign imperialists.

There will be enough bread for everyone, if every pood be accounted for, and every pound evenly and justly distributed. There is also a great shortage of fuel for the engines. Railways and factories will not be able to carry on, unemployment and famine will ruin the people unless we enforce the strictest economy of consumption and regularity in distribution. The catastrophe is imminent, nay it is perilously near. A very trying May will be followed by a still more trying June, July, and August.

The State monopoly of bread is established by law, but in practice, it is being continually violated by the bourgeoisie. The village profiteer who has been robbing the whole district for years, prefers to fill his pockets by private speculation. That is so very profitable for his pocket, and the Soviet Government can be blamed for the famine. The same attitude is taken up by the political defenders of the speculator—the Cadets, the Socialist Revolutionaries of the Right, the Mensheviki, who both openly and in secret are working against the State bread monopoly and against the Soviet Government itself. The party without backbone, the Socialist Revolutionaries of the Left, has shown itself without backbone also on this question. It adds its protests against the bread monopoly to the selfish cries of the bourgeoisie. It protests against the supply dictatorship; it allows itself to be intimidated by the bourgeoisie, it is afraid to fight the profiteer and is hysterically proposing to raise the fixed prices and to sanction private trading.

This backboneless party is, in politics, like the poor who, in ordinary life, are incited and bribed against the Soviets by the profiteers. It is like the poor peasant to whom the profiteer has sold a pood of flour, not for 6 roubles, but for 3, in order that the poor man may be corrupted and may also try a little speculation by selling this pood of flour for 150 roubles. Thus he may be made an enemy of the Soviets which prohibit private trading in cereals.

No one who cares to use his brains can help seeing on what lines this struggle is being conducted: either the class-conscious workers will win, rallying together the proletarian masses, establishing strict order, a mercilessly severe Government, a real dictatorship of the proletariat, forcing the profiteer to surrender, and establishing a regular distribution of bread and fuel on a national scale.

Or the bourgeoisie, with the help of the profiteers of all classes, and the indirect support of weak and empty people, anarchists and Socialist revolutionaries of the Left, will overthrow the Soviet Government, and will establish a Russo-German or a Russo-Japanese Korniloff, who will give the people a 16 hour day, ½ pound of bread per week, and wholesale shootings and torture in prison, as in Finland, and the Ukraine.

Either this or that. There is no other alternative. The country is in a desperate state.

Those who study politics must realise that the Cadets with the Socialist Revolutionaries of the Right and the Mensheviki are deliberating together as to who would be more acceptable—a Russo-German, or a Russo-Japanese Korniloff, and as to who will be the more likely to crush the revolution, a crowned, or a republican Korniloff.

It is time for all class-conscious workers to make up their minds. It is time for them to wake up and to realise that the least hesitation threatens ruin to the country and to the revolution.

Half measures are of no use. It is needless to complain of hardships. Efforts to get bread or fuel individually, for oneself, for one's own works or establishment, are only causing more disorganisation, and encouraging the speculators in their selfish and dishonest work.

Comrades, that is why I am writing to you, the Petersburg workers. Petersburg is not Russia; the workers of Petersburg are only a small part of the working class of Russia; but they are amongst the best and the most class-conscious workers in the country; they are amongst the most revolutionary and firm, the least prone to empty phrases and weak despair, the least likely to be overawed by the bourgeoisie.

At times of crisis in the lives of nations it has happened more than once that even small bands of advanced thinkers carried with them the masses, inspiring them with revolutionary enthusiasm, and accomplishing the greatest historical achievements. "We were forty thousand workmen in the Putiloff works," said the delegate of the Petersburg workers, "but the majority of them were temporary workers, not proletarians, but unreliable and weak-kneed individuals. At present there are only fifteen thousand, but they are tried and experienced fighters."

Such a vanguard of the revolution in Petersburg and in the whole country must give the watchword; must rise en masse; must realise that in its hands is the salvation of the whole country. It must show the same heroism as in January and October of 1905, and in February and October of 1917. A crusade on a large scale must be inaugurated against the food speculators, the profiteers, the wreckers, the bribe-takers; a crusade against all those who interfere with the strict Government regulations for the collection, transport and distribution of food and fuel.

Only mass action of the enlightened workers is capable of saving the country and the revolution. Wanted—thousands of enlightened, tried proletarians, capable of making the situation clear to the poor and ignorant millions in all parts of the country, and of assuming the leadership of these millions—stable enough to cast away those who, succumbing to the temptation to speculate, have forsaken the people's cause and have become despoilers of the workers; sufficiently firm in their devotion to the revolution to cope with all the difficulties of a national campaign for the establishment of order, the strengthening of the local executives of the Soviet Government, and the establishment of local control over food and fuel.

It is more difficult to achieve this than to exhibit heroism for a few days without sacrificing one's position in life, without joining the campaign, limiting oneself to one outburst—the revolt against the criminal idiot Romanoff, or the foolish braggart Kerensky. The heroism of steady hard organisation work on a national scale is immeasurably more difficult, and, therefore, more sublime than the heroism of rebellions. The strength of labour organisations and of the working class itself has always lain in recognising the danger and facing it with unflinching courage; in soberly weighing its own forces and those of the opposing, the exploiting camp. The revolution marches on, develops and grows, and the tasks before us also grow in importance and magnitude. The systematic distribution of food and fuel, increased transport facilities, the strictest account and control over these matters by the workers on a national scale, these are the real and chief precursors of Socialism; they are not merely revolutionary tasks, but tasks of communism, tasks which must be accomplished when the proletariat makes a determined stand against capitalism.

The struggle is worthy of the greatest sacrifice: its difficulties are great, but great is also the struggle for the destruction of oppression and exploitation in which we are engaged.

At a time when the nation is starving, when unemployment is rampant, it becomes criminal to conceal a single pood of food or fuel.

At such a time and for a truly communist society at all times, every pood of food and fuel is sacred, more sacred than the superstitions with which the priests are befogging the heads of fools; promising them the kingdom of heaven as a compensation for servitude on earth. In order to make the people's food truly sacred one must actually take possession of it; one must bring about its systematic distribution; one must establish national granaries for the storage of all surplus stocks; one must collect all surplus cereals which are either being hoarded, or have not yet been gathered in; one must firmly exact the greatest effort for an increased supply of fuel, the strictest economy in its use and a systematic transport and regulation of consumption.

Wanted—a mass crusade of all the foremost workers to all the grain and fuel areas, to all the most important transport junctions, in order to stimulate increased production, and render help to the local Soviets in the establishment of a system of accounting and control; and in order to destroy, if necessary, by force of arms, all speculation, bribery and corruption.

This task is not a new one; practically speaking, history does not produce new tasks, it only increases the magnitude and scope of the former tasks, in proportion to the magnitude and scope of the Revolution. The difficulties surrounding the Revolution do but enhance the grandeur of its historic task.

One of the greatest and lasting achievements of the October Soviet revolution is, and will

Continued on page 1242.

* The value of the rouble was equivalent to about 2s. at pre-war rates. 1 pood=36 lbs.

THE CAUSE OF FAMINE.—By Lenin.

Continued from page 1241.

remain, the fact that the message of the new world order was carried to the masses by the enlightened workers, who went out as guides and leaders of the poor toilers in the villages and as the builders of a new State—a State of workers.

Petersburg, and other industrial centres, have given thousands of their best workers for the propaganda in the villages. They have sent divisions to fight against Kaledin and Dutoff, divisions to commandeer supplies, but the imminence of the catastrophe and the difficulties of our position make it incumbent on us to increase our efforts tenfold.

The worker having assumed leadership of the masses has not for all that become a saint. He has led the people, but he has been contaminated by the disintegration of the small bourgeoisie. The smaller the proportion of the better organised, class-conscious self-disciplined workers in a division of labour, the sooner has that division become demoralised, and the more frequently has the bourgeois capitalism of the past triumphed over the class-conscious proletarian communism of the future.

Having inaugurated a communist revolution, the working class is not able immediately to shake off the vices and foibles inherited from the landowners, capitalists and exploiters with their maxim: profits and well-being for the few at the expense of the many. Nevertheless, the working class will, at last, inevitably conquer the old world with its vices and foibles, if the proletariat will meet the enemy with new and ever increasing divisions of more and more enlightened and experienced workers hardened by the difficulties of the fight.

This is the position of affairs in Russia. Individual and uncoordinated effort cannot cope successfully with famine and unemployment. There must be a mass crusade of all the foremost workers in every part of our vast country. There must be ten times as many strong divisions of class-conscious proletarians devoted to the principles of Communism. Then we shall conquer famine and unemployment, and bring Socialism within the reach of the revolution. Then we shall be able to carry on a victorious defensive war against the greedy imperialists.

PRISONERS OF WAR IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

At a meeting in Bremen of the Independent Socialist Party on January 29th, an address was given by an Austrian ex-prisoner of war from Moscow. The gist of his speech was as follows:—

On the accession to power of the Soviet régime all prisoners of war were liberated. After a few months' organisation and propaganda a congress of prisoners of war was held in Moscow at which 1,000 delegates from various provinces attended. In a short time 200,000 of them were organised and had representatives in the local Soviets, to which they acted as military protectors. Of this favourable development nothing was published in the German papers; they continued to report that anarchy, plunder and murder were the order of the day.

As a result of the organisation of the prisoners, these men became convinced of the necessity to protect the Revolution from its calumniators, which included English, French, Japanese, German and Russian counter-revolutionaries; about 50,000 joined the Red Guard.

The untutored Russian people showed that they were capable of carrying on the State; many women took active part in the revolution, and enrolled in the Red Guard. The most striking trait in the Russian people is their idealism. Their hatred against the ruling classes sprang from the sharp contrast between the luxury and misery existing in Russia. Long discussions on the future of the country were carried on till late into the night. The Red Army now numbered a million and proved a deterrent to the Entente when it demanded the evacuation of Petrograd. The speaker went on to describe how the improved conditions in Russia under the Soviet has induced the ex-prisoners of war to stay in Russia, and help in developing the country. In his opinion there was no reason to fear the counter-revolutionary movement.

[From the People's Russian Information Bureau, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.]

"MARRIAGES" UNDER BOLSHEVISM.

All sorts of documents are appearing in the press which purport to give the Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia, and the latest is a decree proclaimed by

"THE FREE ASSOCIATION OF ANARCHISTS OF THE TOWN OF SARATOFF."

It is therein stated that:

"In compliance with the decision of the Soviet of Peasants', Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies of Kronstadt the private possession of women is abolished.

"Social inequalities and legitimate marriages having been a condition in the past, which served as an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie, thanks to which all the best species of all the beautiful have been the property of the bourgeoisie, the proper continuation of the human race has been prevented. Such arguments have induced the organisation to edict the present decree.

"From March 1 the right to possess women of the ages of 17 to 32 is abolished.

"The age of women shall be determined by birth certificates, or passports, or by testimony of witnesses, and, on failure to produce documents, their age shall be determined by the Committee, who shall judge them according to appearance.

"This decree does not affect women having five children.

"All women according to this decree are exempted from private ownership, and are proclaimed to be the property of the whole nation.

"The distribution and management of appropriated women, in compliance with the decision of the above said organisations, are transferred to the Saratoff Anarchists' Club. In three days from the date of publication of this decree all women, given by it to the use of the whole nations are obliged to present themselves to the given address, and to supply the required information.

"Before the committee is formed for the realisation of this decree, the citizens themselves will be charged with such control. N.B.—Any citizen noticing a woman not submitting herself to the address under this decree is obliged to let it be known to the Anarchists' Club, giving the address, full name, and father's name of the woman...."

And so on. This extraordinary document is supposed to be signed; "Council of the City of Saratoff."

The absurdity of the document is evident to any one with a knowledge of Socialism and Anarchy. In the first place the Bolshevists are not anarchists, but Marxian Socialists; and in the second place, the orthodox anarchists who object to all forms of legal interference with the liberty of the subject, would certainly denounce the highly restrictive character of this decree.

The alleged decree refers to the Soviet of Peasants', Soldiers', and Workmen's Deputies. It should be noted that it does not purport to be issued by the Soviet, but by the Anarchists' Association "in compliance with the decision of the Soviet." What decision? Is it a decision to allow free speech, a free press, free bill posting and freedom of expression in general? That seems probable, especially in view of the experience recorded by Mr. Rickman, who has lately returned from Russia, where he worked with the Friends' Service Corps.

Mr. Rickman says in a letter to *The Times*:—

A proclamation said to have been issued by the "Free Association of Anarchists of the town of Saratoff" has appeared in *The Times* and other newspapers. It nearly resembles a proclamation of "The Anarchists Club" of Samara issued in the spring of last year. The Bolsheviks utilised a large hoarding for the sole purpose of posting their decrees regarding newly nationalised property. Every day such notices appeared. One day a notice was posted similar to the one said to have been published in Saratoff. It was signed by the "Anarchists' Club" of Samara. I asked a Commissar why the Soviet allowed an irresponsible organisation like "The Anarchists' Club" to put up such notices. He replied that it was all right; people would see it was a parody and it would be quite useful as a matter of fact as propaganda, for the public, by seeing the contrast between notices of nationalising factories and nationalising women, would realise what could be properly nationalised and what not.

He brought up another point I had let escape me, the humour of the situation lay in the fact that the *Anarchists* who had always opposed the Bolsheviks had pretended to adopt the Soviet attitude to State ownership for the first time. The Anarchists being usually such individualists that they violently opposed the movement for nationalisation. For these reasons the Soviet disregarded the notice as mere foolishness. The American colony in Samara with whom I was closely associated was as much amused as everyone else at the jest.

The proclamation you quote nationalises women, the Constitution of the Soviet Government gives equal rights to women. "The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens, irrespective of religion, nationality, domicile, &c., of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, *of both sexes* (the italics are mine) who shall have completed their eighteenth year."—Constitution art. 4, chap. 13, par. 64.

The Decree regarding Divorce issued by the Executive Council of the Soviet of Soviets on *December 18th*, 1917, gives powers of annulment of marriage to both parties equally. The decree concerning Marriage of *December 18th*, 1917, in paragraph 3 orders that the contracting parties shall sign a statement that they "contract marriage voluntarily." Anyone reading these last two decrees I have mentioned cannot but be struck by the fairness of these ordinances and the equality of the sexes they establish.

In conclusion I may point out the Anarchists in Saratoff quote the *Kronstadt* Soviet, which of course had no relation whatever to the Volga town. Had the Anarchists tried to put such a "Proclamation" into force I think I should have heard of it, some English people who were in Saratoff last March whom I saw in May never mentioned it to me; it was one of the many Anarchists' tricks which the Bolsheviks and nearly everyone else let slip into oblivion.—Yours, &c.,

JOHN RICKMAN.

THE POLICEMAN'S DUTY.

Ex-inspector Syme writes pointing out that it is not the duty of the police to break strikes, secure convictions, or screen officials. He quotes Sir John Simon, who, when Attorney General, on March 9th, 1915, said in the House of Commons:

"It is a matter of great importance that we should make it plain to the public that in this country we do not conduct prosecutions on the principle that we ought to try, if possible, to prevent the defendant from calling the evidence that would help to defend him. In a proper case it has always been our position that the prosecution itself will see to it that some necessary witness *even although it is in the interests of the accused*, and still more because it is in the interest of the accused, shall be available."

Syme also quotes the following Metropolitan Police regulation, approved by the Home Secretary:—

"Police giving evidence must do so fairly and impartially, remembering that they are sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and that *their sole object* is to see that justice is done. They must state *all* facts within their own knowledge which tell *in favour* of the accused as well as those which tell against him and *must never allow themselves to be influenced by any feeling for or against any person concerned.*"

As Ex-Inspector Syme observes, if the Glasgow (and other) police called to give evidence in the trial of Comrades Kirkwood, Gallacher, Hopkins and Shinwell will but obey this regulation the truth about the George Square episode will be brought to light.

But we ask more of the police than mere impartiality as between the capitalists and the workers whether employed or unemployed. We urge the police to remember that they too are workers, and to show solidarity with the workers on any and every occasion. In Russia the workers enrolled to maintain the Czarist order of society secured the all but bloodless overthrow of that order by uniting with the industrial workers against it. This action was applauded even by members of the Lloyd George Government, because they hoped it would result in a more vigorous prosecution of the capitalist war. Instead it resulted in a Socialist administration. British workers have much to learn from events in Russia, for of course the Russian Revolution is but the first manifestation of the world wide revolution. The slogan of the policeman should be the same as the slogan of every other worker: "Solidarity."

THE MINERS' DEMANDS AND FOREIGN COMPETITION.

(continued from Page 1240).

standard of living from that quarter. Russian competition the miners of no country need fear!

The League of Nations if Allied capital should desire it, would assure to the miners of all the world a high standard of living.

The fact is, that it is from the coalfields of the British Empire itself that the subsistence of the British miner is most seriously menaced, and it is precisely this menace which should serve to make the British miner insist that the mines of the British Empire and the government of the British Empire shall be placed under the workers' control.

Though India possessed but 6·17 per cent. of the world's coal supply according to present estimates, and only produced 1·23 per cent. of the world's output in 1913, India's great resources have been but tentatively explored, and her output is swiftly growing as this table shows.

Year	United States.	United Kingdom.	Germany.	India.
1885.....	102·2	162·0	73.7	1·3
1895.....	177·6	194·3	104·0	3·5
1905.....	351·1	239·9	173·7	8·4
1913.....	504·5	287·4	273·6	16·2

Between 1906 and 1915 India's output increased by 100 per cent. Later figures are not at present available, but it is well-known that the Government is making great efforts to speed up the industrial development of India, and that much progress has been made in this direction during the war.

Indian coal is easily worked, the seams are nearly horizontal and always thick, rarely measuring less than four to six feet; the largest known seam is 91 feet thick. The mines are absolutely free from fire-damp, and though deeper seams may be developed later on, the average depth of the mines now being worked is not greater than 30 yards.

The Indian coal is good, though that at present being raised has a lower heating capacity than Welsh coal, which is the best coal in the United Kingdom, in this respect Indian coal equals ten-fourteenths of Welsh coal, and in gases and by products Indian coal is equally rich.

Indian coal is cheaply got. The Indian miner is not agitating for a 30 hour week. The Indian Factory Act fixes his working hours at 72. Sir Charles Armstrong, Chairman of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts, on January 16th, stated that the daily wage of the Indian coal miner in the Bengal districts is only 7½ annas. An anna at pre-war rates was the equivalent of a penny, and at the very highest estimate 7½ annas is not worth more than 9*d*. to-day. In some districts Indian coal miners get not more than 6*d*. per day.

Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, a Member of the Council of India, said, at the same meeting, that the war had brought immense wealth to the jute trade, the steel trade and to other trades of India; but when influenza came to India it swept off a much greater percentage of the population than anywhere else on the face of the globe, because the poor labourer was underpaid, ill-clothed and underfed. Though India was a wooded country, the trees, since Western methods had been introduced, no longer belonged to the people; the people could no longer cut them without permission from the owner of the soil. The poor were obliged to use cow-dung for fuel as coal was too dear for them to buy. Thus in their poverty they were depriving the soil of valuable manure. The owners of the land and the coal had come by it strangely. In 1793, when Lord Cornwallis, the then Governor-General of India, effected the Permanent Settlement of Bengal Bihar, and Orissa, he gave away the whole of the mineral wealth of that rich province to men most of whom were formerly only collectors of rent. At that time nothing was known of the mineral resources of the province, and the successors of these men had now the entire mineral resources of Bengal Bihar and Orissa at their disposal without having done anything to earn them.

Imperialism has dispossessed the original owners of the land, and forces them to exist by hard long toil on a starvation pittance. But influenza and every other disease would make still greater ravages amongst the miners of Britian than it did in India, if ever the British miners should be compelled to live here upon an Indian wage. Our country is more densely crowded, our rents and cost of living are higher, and even the cow dung which the Indians use for fuel would not be available in sufficient quantities here. Our cold, damp climate necessitates more fuel, more food and clothing to sustain life than can be managed with in India.

Indian coal is cheaper at the pit's mouth than the coal of any other country as the following table shows:—

	s.	d.
India	4	6.83
South Africa	5	0.38
United States of America ...	5	4.60
Japan	5	11.83
Australia	7	5.42
United Kingdom	9	11.83
Germany	10	4.33
France	12	6.92

As yet, though Indian is the cheapest coal in the world, it is not so cheap as the conditions would lead us to expect, but Indian capitalists, with the help of the Government, are making great strides in improving both machinery and methods.

Wages are not the factor which makes American coal cheaper than British coal, for American wages are higher than ours, and yet the difference in prices grows. In 1916 American coal cost 5*s*. 6*d*. at the pit's mouth, whilst British coal cost 10*s*. But Indian coal, through the conditions of British rule, is the cheapest in the world, and it is Indian coal which chiefly menaces the British miner. Eastern wages with the best Western methods that Britain and America have been able to produce will shortly lower the price of Indian coal much further.

At present about 30 per cent of India's total coal output is consumed by locomotives, and by the Indian Railways. About two-thirds of it is exported. During the last ten years the weight of coal carried on the Indian railways has increased by 90 per cent. Arrangements are being made to carry it more swiftly and economically in larger trucks. It is anticipated that a larger proportion of the output may be conserved for industrial purposes by various means. including the generation of hydro-electric power on the Western Ghauts, and by the use of fuel oil on the railways. "Now that the war is over," says Sir Charles Armstrong, "regular supplies can shortly be expected from the Anglo-Persian oil-fields," or, as we think it more truthful to say, from the Persian oil-fields which England has annexed.

The rates for carrying coal on the Indian railways and on the railways of other countries are as follows;—

Country.	Pence per ton per mile.
India	·150
Holland	·590
Germany	·637
France	·726
Denmark	·956
United Kingdom	1·192

British railway rates are, therefore, the highest in Europe, and Parliament regulates the rate.

For long distances Indian rates are still further reduced as follows:—

Distance.	Rate per ton per mile. Pence.
Up to 300 miles	·2,268
From 300 to 500 miles	·1,701
Over 500 miles	·1,134

Moreover, the Indian Government is most accomodating in lending money to those who are short of capital, but wish to *make* capital out of India's resources. This is, indeed, the business man's Government!

It is not only the British miner who is threatened by the vast natural resources and stores of cheap labour within the British Empire. The Steel and Iron Workers, as we showed in a recent article on the mines of Burma and the smelting works of India, are also threatened. The textile workers, and, indeed, all other British workers are in similar peril. If they can only avoid unemployment by producing as cheaply as the exploited workers of the Far East and South, they are doomed indeed!

There is another alternative, one which requires great courage, great effort, and determination: it is to take control of the industries of the Empire, and of the Empire itself.

If the British Coal Mines were nationalised, the British Government could also nationalise the coal mines throughout the British dependencies, and could establish a standard wage and price for all the coal thus controlled. It could prevent any coal, sold at a lower price, being brought into Britain or the dependencies. But neither coal mining, nor any other industry, will ever be managed in the interests of the workers until the workers control the industry and the Government.

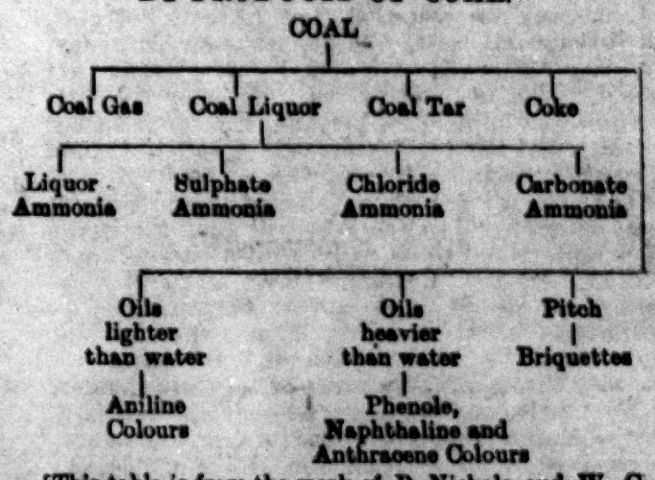
The world has come to an epoch of tremendous struggle. Capitalism is suffering from the disease of its old age—over expansion. Its pains can only be eased; its desires only partly satisfied by a greater subjection of the workers and the harnessing to the industrial machine of all the world's semi-civilised, and, from the modern industrialist standpoint, under-employed peoples.

The fully industrialised workers in countries like ours are now ripe for Socialism; and either they must make a great effort to seize it now, or sink back into the slough of despond and wait till all the other peoples of the earth have passed through the mills of industrialism.

The miners are being appealed to to waive their claims for the sake of other workers; but the miners should struggle sternly and unflinchingly to secure the nationalisation of the mines and their control of the mine workers. They will thereby benefit the workers of other industries and encourage them to do likewise. The miners must not listen to the Government, for the object of the Government is to maintain the capitalist system.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

BY-PRODUCTS OF COAL.



[This table is from the work of B. Nichols and W. C. Nichols, published by George Allen & Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.]

Further by-products from coal tar are: (1) Light oils, Hydrocarbons with ten derivatives, Olefines with four derivatives, Benzol with fifty-five derivatives, one-half useful for aniline colour industries, Tolene with sixty derivatives of high value; (2) Ammoniacal Liquor with ten derivatives some valuable as artificial manures for sugar and other industries; (3) Carbolic Oils, Cresols with six derivatives, Phenol with sixty derivatives including acids and powders of high medicinal and disinfectant values; (4) Heavy Oils, Anthracene and Basic substances about sixty of great industrial and chemical value; (5) Cresote Oils and Naphthalene with forty derivatives of market value; (9) Pitch and Briquettes.

THE PORT OF LONDON STRIKE.

A mass meeting of Port of London strikers was held in Poplar Hippodrome on Saturday morning, February 22nd. For nearly a month the workers 15,000 have stood firm with a great measure of solidarity though the majority have had no strike pay. A resolution was carried agreeing to open up negotiations with the employers and to remain out until the committee should report the result of the negotiations.

The River Thames Shop Stewards Committee appeals urgently for aid for the feeding fund. Donations should be sent to the Joint Treasurers, A. Ackfield and Norah Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, E.

THE GOVERNMENT LABOURITES' VISIT TO RUSSIA.

The so-called Labour and Socialist Congress which met at Berne decided to send a commission of inquiry to Russia. The Bolshevik Government has magnanimously agreed to receive the delegates from the conference which excluded its representatives and censured it unheard. The Bolshevik Government however asks this question which is reported in La Populaire, February 23rd.

"Seeing that we authorise unconditionally the inquiry in Russia by this Commission we should like to know if the Governments whose subjects will take part in the work of the Commission, will authorise a Commission of the Soviet Republic to visit their countries."

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliaments, and the substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum.
Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28th.
The Square, Woolwich.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
Pretoria Avenue.—5.30 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, MARCH 1st.
Lewisham and Camberwell. Meet at 3 P.M. at the Clock Tower, Lewisham, and at 6.30 P.M. at Camberwell Grove. Speakers: Miss Price, Mrs. Walker and others.

SUNDAY, MARCH 2nd.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
Club Row, Bethnal Green.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
The Grove, Hammersmith.—6.30 P.M., John Syme.

TUESDAY, MARCH 4th.
White Cross Street.—12 (noon), Miss Price.

FRIDAY, MARCH 7th.
Outside Mansfield Hotel, Kentish Town.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, MARCH 8th.
Great Push in Hoxton.

INDOOR.

SUNDAY, MARCH 2nd.
20, Railway Street, Poplar W.S.F.—7 P.M., Debate on "A Democratic Peace" between Mr. Edmunds and Mr. E. G. Smith (League of Peace and Freedom). Chair: Miss Horsfall. Discussion.

MONDAY, MARCH 3rd.
44, Malden Road (St. Pancras W.S.F.).—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.

THURSDAY, MARCH 6th.
20, Railway Street (Poplar W.S.F. Study Circle).—8 P.M., Mr. Edmunds, "Marxian Economics."

SUNDAY, MARCH 9th.
20, Railway Street (Poplar W.S.F.)—7 P.M., John Syme, "British Simpletons." Chair: Mrs. Walker. Discussion.

Meetings advertised in this column one line free, each additional word one penny.

Gratefully Acknowledged

GENERAL FUND.—Arnold Lupton, £2; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (£1 weekly), £2; Mr. H. P. Burgess, 5s. 7½d.; Woodford Women's Co-operative Guild, 2s. 6d.; E. Schofield, 1s. 2d. COLLECTIONS: Poplar W.S.F., 5s.

SOCIAL WORK.—Mrs. M. Boswell (monthly), £2; Chas. Wright, £2; Miss Burgis (sale of clothes) £1 7s. 6d.; Mrs. R. Hecht, £1; A. L. Bennett, 10s. 6d.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; Mrs. P. E. Shaw, 10s.; Miss M. S. Turner, 10s.; Miss M. Ling and Mr. and Mrs. Higdon, 5s.; Miss J. T. Drewry (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. Gillies, 4s.; Mrs. Mackenzie-Kennedy, 3s. 6d.; Miss Gertrude Setchfield, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Prentice, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. E. Green, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. I. Thomas, 2s. 6d.

SCRAP BOOKS.—Mrs. Emmins.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Classified advertisements one penny per word. Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

AGENTS WANTED FOR THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.'—Are you a regular reader of the paper? Do you sell it at the meetings of your organisation? Introduce it to your workshop.

VOTE FOR THE CHILDREN'S BIRTHRIGHT.—15s. a week to every child in our midst as proudly welcomed citizens till they reach the age of 21 years, and £1 a week for everyone at 60.
MacKenzie-Kennedy Advert.

THE ORPHEUM CINEMATOGRAPH THEATRE
CROYDON.
Good Films. Good Music. Comfortably Heated Clean. Well Ventilated.
LILLIAN SCOTT TROY, Managing Director.
(Hon. Member D.W.R. & G.L. Union).
Tel. Croydon 1827.

DREADNOUGHTS sent to any part of Sheffield by Mr. A. Carford, 183 West Street, Sheffield. Price 9d. per doz. post free.

NO CONSCRIPTION SUNDAY.
Sunday, March 2nd., "No Conscription" Meeting, 11.30 a.m.
Corner of Pigott Road, Burdett Road.
Speakers: MRS. WALKER, HARRY POLLITT and PERCY HOWARD.

LEANEY'S LTD.,
WHOLESALE NEWSAGENTS.
City Agent for the Workers' Dreadnought
9 and 10, ST. BRIDE'S AVENUE, E.C.4.
(Late City and Suburban Publishing Co.).

HELP THE DREADNOUGHT!
The Dreadnought is on sale on Thursdays—if you have any difficulty in getting it from your agent, communicate with the Manager, "The Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.
(Opposite Bouverie Street.)
All Newsagents and Railway Bookstalls throughout the country will supply you if you only place your order.

GETTING A PASSPORT.

THE FORBIGN OFFICE AND DEPORTATION DEPARTMENT AT WORK.

Soermus.

Last week we recorded that Edvard Soermus, the Russian violinist, was deported on Thursday, February 13th, his wife and baby being left behind without means of subsistence. Mrs. Soermus had applied for permission to go with her husband, but her application was ignored. When on reaching Brixton Prison, where she went with her baby to see her husband, she found him already gone, she returned to Scotland Yard and the Home Office and visited these daily until a passport was granted to her. Meanwhile her husband telegraphed to her to meet him at Bergen, then at Stockholm; then came a telegram that he had been obliged to leave for Russia. On Saturday, February 22nd, Mrs. Soermus at last left London for Newcastle, and we presume that she has now left the country. On the day of her departure, we received a letter from the Home Office expressing regret that it had not been possible to allow her to travel with her husband but that arrangements were being made to enable her to follow. Mrs. Soermus was charged the usual fees for her passport and railway and steamer ticket, for which friends kindly subscribed. After buying her ticket to Stockholm and other requisites for the journey, she had just £20. We do not know whether it will suffice to carry her and her baby to Russia. We fear that she will encounter many difficulties before finding her husband.

Permission to Visit International Socialist Congress called by Swiss Socialist Party Refused.

On Friday, February 21st, Sylvia Pankhurst received a telegram from the Secretary of the Swiss Socialist Party inviting her to attend the International Socialist Congress which the Swiss Party had decided to call, on the ground that the last Conference was not a genuine Socialist International, since the Bolsheviki of Russia and the Spartacists of Germany were excluded from it. Sylvia Pankhurst at once applied to the Foreign Secretary for a passport and on February 12th received a reply marked "urgent," stating that Lord Curzon had directed that if she would apply to the Foreign Office a passport would be issued. Two days waiting at the Passport Office secured a passport, then a visit to the Military Permit Office and French Legation was necessary. Following that a visit to the Swiss Legation, where it was stated that the permission of the Berne authorities must be secured before the journey could be started. On February 22nd the Swiss authorities replied that permission was refused.

It is interesting to note that an official at the British Military Permit Office wrote on the passport that it was not available for any stay in France and that it was only available for Switzerland during the period of the Conference. The question arises as to the jurisdiction of the British in France and Switzerland. A fee of 12s. was charged for the French *visé*, and two references in France were demanded, though the passport was only available for the railway journey through France!

SWISS SOCIALISTS.

Volksrecht, Feb. 3rd, 1919, reports the meeting of the Swiss Social Democratic Party in the People's House in Berne, convened to decide if the Party should send delegates to the International Conference which met in the same building. There was a large attendance, and many fiery speeches were made for and against the three resolutions:—

1. The Schneider resolution. Against the sending of delegates.
2. The Platten resolution. As an addendum to Schneider's.
3. The Resolution of the Party Executive. In favour of sending delegates.

The latter advocated participation on the plea of unity against the world's capitalism in the interest of the workers' future. It was defeated, and Schneider's resolution with Platten's as an addendum, was adopted by 238 votes against 147.

Comrades Rosa Block and Rosa Grimm protested emphatically against participation in the International Conference. The latter took objection to Arthur Henderson's statement "that harmony between capital and labour is possible."

Comrade Platten, in the course of his speech, pointed out that three grades exist in the Swiss Socialist Party. The first (which is the right wing), wants to go to the Conference unconditionally. The second wants to make it conditional on a decision of the new Zimmerwald Conference, and the third refuses to take any part in the International Conference. He (Platten) is of the left wing. "We must decide if we are with the reformists or with the revolutionaries. It is typical that Comrade Adler's arrival is awaited with expectancy. One must not think that because Adler shot Stürghk that he will go with us. We shall endeavour to win him over, but if he goes to the Conference, he is lost to us." (Adler went to the Conference.) He suggested that a placard be placed on the door of the Conference Room with the inscription: "Ten million dead, twenty million cripples with our consent! If the Zimmerwaldians ignore the Conference it will come to nothing." Platten ridicules the idea that the Conference is to discuss territorial questions, and said: "The question of Socialism does not look very promising," as "the Berne Trade Union Congress is asking for a 10 hour day (laughter). Behold our revolutionaries who want to go to the Conference!"

Comrade Platten's resolution ran as follows:—

"The conference convened by the International Socialist Bureau in Brussels is to be considered as an attempt of the socialist patriots and the 'doing our bit' politicians again to appropriate the leadership of the international proletariat after four years' repudiation of the class struggle. Those at the Conference will merely assist at a farce of international understanding, but in reality they will remain the obedient servants of the bourgeoisie of their respective countries. We assert that the Bureau of the Socialist Patriotic Conference is bent on splitting the partisans of Zimmerwald in order to be able to appear before the European proletariat crowned with laurels which do not belong to them. We decline to be represented at a Conference where those who are morally responsible for the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg will sit next to comrades who perhaps in the very near future will be the new victims of Government Socialists. We greet the Russian Revolution and we acclaim the battle cry of the Russian and German Revolutionaries who call the proletariat to the world revolution. We share with them the opinion that there are insurmountable differences between the Socialists of the old Internationale and those of Zimmerwald. In view of these facts the meeting declines the invitation of the International Socialist Bureau."

THE MASSES.

That irrepressible propagandist, our workshop editor, has produced a new monthly paper, *The Masses*. It contains articles by W. F. Watson, David Ramsay, Harry Pollitt, Jim Foster and Eden and Cedar Paul and a cartoon by Puck.

Printed by J. E. Francis, 11 and 13 Brewm's Buildings, London, E.C.4, and Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.